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Authors

Tewes, Oliver
Heimann, Christiane

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**Reasons for Moving in Times of Crisis: The Motives
Behind Migration of Highly-Skilled Spaniards to Berlin
and London**

by Oliver Tewes and Christiane Heimann

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Study of
Societal Issues**

Reasons for Moving in Times of Crisis: The Motives Behind Migration of Highly-Skilled Spaniards to Berlin and London

Oliver Tewes

Institut für Soziologie, Technische Universität Berlin, Germany
oliver.tewes@campus.tu-berlin.de

Christiane Heimann

Research Fellow at Bamberg Graduate School of Social Sciences, Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, Germany
Visiting Scholar at the Institute for the Studies of Societal Issues, University of California, Berkeley
cheimann@berkeley.edu

Abstract

This article analyses the migration motives of highly-educated young adults in Berlin and London who left Spain in the wake of the economic crisis of 2008. We base our analysis on in-depth interviews and the Schützean concept of motive, which allows us to differentiate between the motives behind leaving Spain and the motives behind coming to the city of destination. Our results highlight that the young adults' decisions to leave Spain were not only motivated by the grave labour market situation itself, but also by its consequences, such as being forced to live with their parents. Regarding the motives for coming, we present a typology of four migration projects in which we argue that even those motives that were previously considered non-economic, such as partnership, are also profoundly related to the economic crisis.

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Reasons for Moving in Times of Crisis: The Motives Behind Migration of Highly-Skilled Spaniards to Berlin and London

Introduction

Recent studies suggest that the European economic crisis has led to an increase in intra-European mobility, especially among highly-skilled young individuals from Southern Europe (van Mol, 2016). The general narrative presented is that many of them migrate to northern European countries in order to find better employment opportunities and life opportunities; however, many of them return after a short period of time due to the hardships of living in a foreign country (Recchi, 2015: page 76; Recchi and Salamońska 2015; OECD, 2013; BAMF, 2014; Gropas and Triandafyllidou, 2014; Neubecker, Fratzscher and Linckh, 2014; Brenke and Neubecker, 2013). Looking at the case of Spain, this picture seems very plausible. After 2009, the recession following the burst of the housing bubble led to a staggering increase in unemployment of up to 56% in 2013 for those under 25 years of age (Eurostat, 2016). Young adults were among the worst-affected group, since in the context of the southern European welfare regime, they were the first employees to be laid off because – as opposed to their older colleagues – they were not guarded by employment-protection laws. Furthermore, many young adults were unable to enter the contracting labour market after graduation (OPAM, 2012). Being driven primarily by economic factors, these migrants do not fit into the description of a transnationally-mobile, unburdened young elite of ‘Eurostars’ who dominated the intra-European migration discourse in the 2000s (Favell, 2008; Hadler, 2006; Verwiebe, 2005, 2014; King, 2002), falling possibly closer to the label of ‘economic migration’ recently associated with the East-West migration

after the EU enlargements of 2004 (Burrell, 2010). Still, relatively little is known about how the economic crisis has affected the migration motives of young, highly-educated adults, so that the implications remain vague. In order to paint a more nuanced picture, we suggest employing the concept of motive, which, as we argue, captures both the individual contexts *and* goals of migration.

In our study, we focus on Spanish migrants in Berlin and London. Most of the emigrants from the GIPS countries (Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain) are Spaniards, and Spain has become the country showing the highest number of emigrants in the EU (OECD, 2013). In terms of destinations, Germany has the highest number of immigrants in the European Union since the economic crisis, overtaking the UK, which is now ranked second (Bräuninger, 2014). These two are also the most popular countries of destination for young Spaniards (González-Ferrer, 2013; OECD, 2013). We believe that the metropolitan cities of Berlin and London are especially attractive for young migrants, both because they are located in prosperous core countries of the EU and symbols for a cosmopolitan lifestyle. We therefore base our analysis of the migration motives on interviews conducted with 16 migrants in these two cities. Since we only found minor differences between the two cities, we refrain from focussing on their comparison; where deemed necessary, of course, we address obvious differences. The questions we seek to answer in this article are the following: First, what are the motives behind young, highly-skilled Spaniards leaving their country during the crisis? Second, what are the motives for coming to the city of destination? In our analysis, we explore the possible impact of the crisis on economic and non-economic motives for migration.

What Do We Know about the Motives Behind Migration in Europe in Times of Crisis?

Since the economic crisis occurred so recently, few in-depth studies have been published regarding the subjective motives of emigrants from Southern Europe after the economic crisis. In this brief overview, we also include findings from other Southern European countries.

The largest effort to study the motivations of emigrants leaving crisis-stricken countries in the EU is a series of online surveys conducted by the European University Institute's Global Governance Programme containing predominantly young and educated respondents from Greece, Italy, Ireland, Portugal and Spain (Bartolini, Gropas and Triandafyllidou, 2016; Gropas and Triandafyllidou, 2014).¹ Their main findings on the reasons for leaving were related to dissatisfaction with career opportunities and life prospects in general or an interest in seeking adventure.² Economic motives were cited regardless whether the respondent was employed or unemployed at the time of the departure. Answers to the open question as to what drove them away from their country, however, highlight additional issues such as corruption, nepotism and lack of meritocracy. Congruously, the list of subjective factors that led to the choice of destination ('pull factors') includes meritocracy, employment and career opportunities, openness to diversity, and a better quality of life. According to the authors' analysis of Greek and Italian migrants, the main discursive strategy of the respondents put an emphasis on agency and the

¹ Short descriptive statistical analyses are available for each country in the sample (see for Spain: Enríquez and Romera, 2014). But their results do not differ widely from the main findings for all countries, we therefore refrain from discussing them in detail here.

² Reflected in the following items: 'I saw no future for me in my country', 'I could find better opportunities for me elsewhere', 'To try a new experience, a new adventure', 'To improve my academic/professional training' (Gropas and Triandafyllidou, 2014, page 4f.)

possibility of shaping one's own life. Hence, an important motive for migration is generally to improve the ability to make plans for the future (Bartolini, Gropas and Triandafyllidou, 2016: page 10). These findings could be interpreted in a way that, with economic factors playing a major contextual role, the main motive for academic migrants is finding a path towards their own career – a path that is blocked in their country of origin by the economic crisis.

Taking a different perspective, Susanne Bygnes focuses on the non-economic aspects of the crisis (2015). Her qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews shows that Spaniards who relocated to Norway during the recession are reluctant to refer to the crisis as their motive for migration. The interviewees, being employed in the upper bracket of the labour market³, thought of themselves as having been well-protected against the economic crisis in Spain due to their educational and occupational resources. Their motives for leaving Spain were therefore rather related to a general discontent with the societal situation in Spain, especially in terms of corruption, public safety, rising inequality or lack of sense of community. Bygnes suggests that these factors resemble Durkheim's notion of anomie. She interprets the interviewees' reluctance to admit that the crisis was a motive as a way of drawing symbolic boundaries between themselves and worse-positioned migrants.

Certain differences are noticeable compared to the quantitative literature on motives of intra-European migrants before the crisis (Verwiebe, 2014; Santacreu, Baldoni and Carmen Albert, 2009; Hadler, 2006): First, and most obvious, economic motives are much more prevalent.

Second, social motives, such as family or love, being among the most common motives in the

³ They were employed in sectors such as IT, energy, construction and academia, with only three being unemployed at the time of the interview and four who experienced a temporary phase of unemployment (Bygnes, 2015: page 6)

2000s, seem to have lost importance, while the then-most frequent motive of better life-quality appears nowadays intertwined with economic factors. The research of the 2000s depicted the paradigm of labour migration from poorer to richer countries as obsolete for Western Europe. However, at least with regards to the migration motives, the Southern European economic crisis seems to have produced a revival of this paradigm.

If we take a look at Francesca Conti's qualitative study analysing motives of emigration from Italy, however, we get another picture. She conducted narrative interviews in 2008 with young academic Italian migrants who moved to London (Conti, 2011). Her analysis shows that economic motives were central for the migrants even before the crisis, with interviewees stating that there was little access to jobs in their field of study in Italy. Additionally, they were driven by personal motives, including the thirst for adventure, but also self-empowerment and the feeling of gaining control over one's life. This includes moving out and becoming economically independent from one's own family. Conti interprets this, in the context of the Southern European welfare state regime, as a status passage into adulthood. The interviewees often described Italy as a country in a state of social, moral and cultural bankruptcy. The migrants were convinced that Italy had little to offer the young generation and distanced themselves from the 'Italian mentality' (Conti, 2011: page 133).

Conti's analysis matches the findings of Gropas and Triandafyllidou and of Bygnes. This might imply that the crisis has changed little in the qualitative nature of the motives, only having an impact on their distribution and prevalence. However, comprehensive qualitative analyses of the migration motives of young well-educated migrants from crisis-stricken countries are still lacking. Therefore, we seek to capture the complexity of economic and non-economic motives

based in the home country and the destination country in order to develop a typology of migrants in the wake of the economic crisis.

The Analytical Framework: ‘Motives in Times of Factors’

Most of the studies analyse migration motives by simply asking the migrants directly about their motives. In this study, however, we aim to reconstruct the migrants’ motives from a biographical point of view, including the meaningful contexts of migration. Our approach is based upon the concept of motives as suggested by Alfred Schütz (1967). In his view, a subjective motive describes ‘*to the actor himself* the “meaningful ground of his behavior.”’ (1967, page 86, italics and quotation marks as cited) In other words, a motive motivates action by attributing meaning to it. Schütz suggests that motives can be distinguished into two different categories, *in-order-to motives*, and *genuine-because motives*. In-order-to motives are future directed motives: They motivate action guided towards a given future goal. In contrast, genuine-because motives root the meaning of related actions in the past and are not directly motivated by a given future goal.

Applied to migration-related narrations, this motivational framework serves as a simple yet effective heuristic tool: Motives rooted in the country of origin (and therefore the past) resemble genuine-because motives: They motivate an actor to leave the country, but do not constitute the direction or time horizon of a migration project. An example for such a motive is unemployment in the country of origin. In contrast, motives bound to the place of destination can be interpreted as projects or in-order-to motives. They motivate both the direction of the migration and the actions following the relocation. An example for an in-order-to motive might be the desire to live in an interesting city. In this analysis, genuine-because motives shall be called *motives for leaving* whereas the in-order-to motives shall be called *motives for coming*.

In the data, the motives for leaving and the motives for coming do not only differ with regard to their point of reference, but also in their narrative nature. The passages from which we reconstructed the motives for leaving represent rather static descriptions of interviewees' previous situation in Spain and their expectations if they had stayed there. The motive of expecting to stay unemployed in Spain, for example, does not always constitute a narrative by itself since individual action (or a progression of events) is not necessarily involved. In contrast, in our analysis, the motives for coming are based on the narrations of the actions taking place after the relocation. Realizing a migration project constitutes a narrative due to its progressive nature. Hence, we succeeded in analysing migrants' individual goals, strategies and planning horizons.

Another difference between the two types of motives is their compatibility among each other. A migrant can have all of the motives for leaving at the same time. Even more so, all of the crisis-related motives for leaving are strongly related; for example, unemployment can be a pathway towards economic dependency upon parents. By contrast, having multiple motives for coming can lead to conflicting situations: You might have to prioritize whether you relocate to a culturally-interesting city or to the one where you actually have a job offer. Even though this is not necessarily the case, and many migrants in our sample have indeed two or more motives for coming, both trade-offs and prioritizing are common in the migrants' decision-making and mark distinction lines between the motives.

Besides structuring the analysis, this approach has the advantage of having some commonalities to classical economical approaches to migration. Obviously, differentiating between motives for leaving and motives for coming bears a structural resemblance to push and pull factors (Lee, 1966), with the former motives being analogous to factors that 'push' people out of a place and

latter being analogous to those that ‘pull’ people to another place. Besides that, our reconstructive approach and economic approaches share the assumption that migration is a conscious decision of individual actors.

Yet, it is important to outline the main differences as well. Even if economic approaches assume a rational actor at their very core, their aim of research is usually very different; instead of reconstructing subjective motives for migration, their approach looks instead for objective causes of migration, thus linking causal factors to the outcome of migration only *theoretically* with the assumption of a rational actor. Another difference is that the economic model focuses on decision-making processes before the actual relocation (Lee 1966), whereas our interviews took place well after the relocation (ranging from a few months up to three years). While most interviewees retrospectively talked about their initial motives for the relocation, their motives of *staying* in a foreign country changed over time in many cases. In our analysis, we cannot differentiate between them, since they are intertwined and rationalized retrospectively in the interviewee’s biography. Both the motives for leaving and the motives for coming can therefore be considered as ‘motives for staying’.

Data and Methodology

Our analysis is based on 16 in-depth interviews that we conducted over the period 2013-2016, with eight interviews each in Berlin and London. The following selection criteria were chosen in order to ensure comparable interviews with a limited sample size: Interviewees must hold Spanish citizenship, have migrated in the wake of the economic crisis, hold at least a bachelor’s degree, and not have children. In order to increase variance, we varied the field of study. They graduated in humanities, such as fine arts, but also in fields that lead to clearly defined

professional pathways such as social work, psychology, business, engineering, and law. The age of our interviewees ranges from 22 to 35, and most of them are in their late twenties, with many of them never having worked in a full position in their field of study.

In general, we had difficulties gaining access to the field of recently immigrated Spaniards. We identified potential interviewees by doing an internet search, asking peers for contacts, approaching Spanish-speaking people in the street for interviews and using the snowball method. 14 out of the 16 interviews were conducted face-to-face in the migrant's or the researcher's home or in cafes or pubs. One of the interviews was conducted by phone and one by Skype. We conducted most interviews in Spanish, with only the first two interviews in Berlin being conducted in English and one interviewee in Berlin insisting on being interviewed in German. In order to present the findings in this study, the salient passages of the transcriptions were translated into English by the authors. The interviews were transcribed and analysed using the method of complex thematic analysis (Kühn and Witzel, 2000), which is derived from the coding techniques of Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Spain in Retrospect: The Motives for Leaving

The motives for leaving Spain were dominated by four factors: (1) the bleak outlook for finding a (decent) job in Spain, (2) having to live with parents, (3) a depressing social environment, and (4) a biographical motivation to emigrate, unrelated to the crisis. We found all the motives for leaving in both London and Berlin, indicating a general pattern.

The bleak outlook for finding a (decent) job in Spain: Not surprisingly, most interviewees mentioned the labour market situation as a factor in their decision to leave Spain, albeit to a varying degree and in different ways, depending on the phase of their career and their field of

study. Some migrants left Spain directly after university graduation and never attempted to find a job there, since from their perspective, this would have been a rather pointless enterprise, while others spent considerable time being unemployed and searching for a job before they chose to leave. Most notably, graduates from humanities and arts described their situation in Spain as entirely hopeless. They had the impression that – with a career entry being already difficult in normal times – it was virtually impossible during the crisis. In comparison, graduates from fields such as business complained instead about their entry positions being downgraded to paid long-term internships without the prospect of imminent promotion. Meanwhile, for interviewees with working experience in their field, the crisis often led to job loss. Often in these cases, short-term working contracts were not renewed, which worsened their situation from prolonged precariousness before the crisis to permanent unemployment thereafter.

Having to live with parents: Due to unemployment and the family-based welfare regime in Spain, many interviewees did not have their own income and were financially dependent on their parents. For the most part, they had planned to live on their own after their graduation in their own flat, rented with the money they earned themselves. Instead, due to unemployment, many of the young people had to live with their parents and ask them for extended financial support. For most of our interview partners, this situation was not bearable in the long run. In some cases, the economic crisis led to ‘boomerang returns’ (Arundel and Lennartz, 2015), where the young adults who had already lived on their own had to move into their parents’ home again. This was in some cases interpreted as a loss not only of independence and individual space, but additionally as a step back into an otherwise concluded phase of life, being reminiscent of adolescence rather than adulthood. Furthermore, in many cases, not only the children were unhappy with the situation, but also the parents, who had to come up with the expenses and give

up a room in their home. Hence, for some, tensions and conflicts added to the feeling of having to leave: “The second motive was that I did not want to live with my parents anymore, to be honest. I already had a certain age and argued a lot with them. We had big differences of opinions” (female, 23, interpreter).

The depressing mood among friends and family: Since this motive does not have a strong narrative aspect to it, it only appears as a situational background description in the interviews. In essence, it is rooted in the psychological strain by being surrounded by people in a state of economic and psychological crisis: “Everybody was complaining, sure, the situation was pretty bad. Well, that made me a little depressive as well” (male, 29, illustrator).

Migrants cited this motive regardless of whether they were unemployed or not. For those who were employed (and therefore busy), their emotional stress was caused by the crisis of close friends and family from which they could not escape emotionally while living in Spain. In one case, an interviewee stated that he fled from the emotional situation caused by the bankruptcy of his family, even though he was not financially involved or harmed. This case indicates that the crises among close friends or family can trigger an individual’s own psychological destabilization due to a high level of empathy and involvement, regardless of their own economic situation. Leaving the country is seen as a strategy to protect themselves psychologically from this influence.

For those unemployed, this state of their social environment increased the feeling of hopelessness. The feeling of crisis penetrated all spheres of life since their unemployed friends were often talking about ‘bad news’ and could not distract themselves from their problems by other activities because of their lack of funds.

Change of scenery and biographical development: While the aforementioned motives are clearly crisis-themed, we were able to also reconstruct an unrelated motive, namely, the wish to be mobile while still being biographically able to do so. The central concept of this motive is the desired change of scenery after staying in one place for several years: “I think after nine years of living in one city [...] either you are very, very happy or there is a moment, where you say, okay, enough, I want change, I need change in my life” (30, male, business economist).

Additionally, this motive is framed biographically since it renders the migration project as a developmental enterprise – be it for the CV (‘international working experience’) or to grow as a person in general (‘widening horizons’) (Brodersen, 2014). It has a clear place in one’s personal life course: It has to be done before one settles down and starts a family. Indeed, no one mentioning this motive was even in a relationship at the time of leaving. In the interviews, this motive was not pointing at a destination, but instead developed as a general need back in Spain, resembling a text-book genuine-because motive.

The Migrants at their Destination: The Motives for Coming

As stated above, we include the presentation of the motives for coming in a typology of migrants characterized by their dominant motives. We found four types among the interviewees and we found cases of all four types in both Berlin and London indicating a pattern that is common at least for these two cities. The typology consists of two main dimensions. The first is the type of motive that is dominant; three of the types are best described by their motives for coming, while one type is dominated by the motive for leaving Spain. The second dimension is the length of the migrant’s subjective planning horizon. Two of the types are motivated by long-term goals. Their

motives to migrate are strongly tied to their future life plans. In contrast, the remaining two types have a comparatively short planning horizon and lack long-term planning.

By using ideal types, we reduce the complexity of the empirical data of our individual cases in order to focus on the differing main motivation the Spanish migrants have. However, as stated earlier, many of the migrants combine two or more of these motives for coming but often have to prioritize one over the other.

Career-seekers

The motive of career-seeking is either to advance one's professional career or to find a job in one's field of study by going abroad. These migrants chose Germany or England as countries of destination because they appeared to offer the best professional opportunities. The career-seekers often need to have a long-term planning horizon in order to reach their goals.

In the first phase after the relocation, nearly all of the interviewees in Berlin and half of those in London were confronted with a situation in which they had to finance themselves with marginal employment while improving their language or professional skills before being able to apply for jobs in their own field of study. Therefore, the main strategy is the acquisition of cultural capital⁴ in the form of language proficiency, academic certificates and work experience through internships in order to find employment in the desired field. The future value of this newly-acquired cultural capital outside of the country of destination, however, varies in each professional field. A businessperson, a lawyer, an engineer and one researcher in our study interpreted international work experience and language proficiency in English or German as

⁴ For the concept of cultural capital, see Bourdieu (1986).

valuable assets to their CV, no matter where they would work in the future. In contrast, the remaining career-seekers in our sample invested in cultural capital that is only useful in their country of destination since their professional fields do not reward this type of capital elsewhere. For example, a Spanish nurse in London was able to work in her profession as soon as she had the necessary language requirements and her degree was recognised in the UK. Moving again to another country, however, would render these country-specific investments worthless. These career-seekers openly identified the economic crisis in Spain as the main reason for their rather involuntary migration. In comparison, those professionals who wanted to improve their CV were able to present their decision more as a voluntary and strategic decision.

The living conditions of the career-seekers in the sample from Berlin were generally characterized by (sometimes extreme) precariousness. In the case of a social worker, she could barely finance her language courses and her stay in Germany, being marginally employed as a cleaner. Additionally, she had to go through six temporary housing rentals, ranging from a few weeks to a few months. In such a case, career-seeking requires perseverance and endurance, but the prospect of being able to work in their desired field in the future, once speaking German fluently, helps the migrants to stay somewhat optimistic. Being asked where she sees herself in a year from now, the social worker answered: “In a flat. [She laughs desperately] For me alone. Speaking German well. And working in my field: Trying to help others. That would be perfect for me” (Berlin, female, 35, social worker, working as a cleaner). The long-term goal of succeeding and working in her field helps her to bear with the difficult situation she is going through because she is convinced that this is only a transitional phase.

In the sample from London, most of the career-seekers were successful in getting a career started or advancing by taking a next career step. In general, they seemed to be better prepared than the

interviewees in Berlin in terms of language proficiency, knowledge about the labour market and job requirements at their destination. At least in our, albeit small, sample, most of the Londoners had already successfully found a job in London while they were still in Spain. These differences can partly be due to chance and our small sample. However, they also likely reflect English being a much more widespread language than German.

Romantics

In contrast to the career-seekers, the romantics are driven by a project concerning their private life. Their central migration motive is to move closer to their partner. For instance, being asked why she came to London, one of our interview partners stated clearly:

Because of the boy, because of the boy, the second time because of the boy. [...] I think, I wouldn't have had a very good work in Barcelona [...], but [...] if I was there I would have found something [in my field]. So the motive of work was not as important as the relationship. (female, 25, PhD student in anthropology and working as social worker in London)

In contrast to the other types, the decision to migrate is not made alone but in negotiation and coordination with the partner. This concerns first and foremost the direction of the relocation. In some cases, both partners relocated to Berlin or London, coming from different places of origin. In other cases, one partner already lived in Berlin or London, and the other one moved. In these cases, the direction of the migration was set by objective possibilities, meaning that the partner who was less bound to a place at the time was the one to relocate to the other's city of residence. This sometimes led to a series of migrations; for example, a Spanish psychologist and a German student of engineering became a couple several years ago in Ireland. After returning to their respective countries, they lived in a long-distance relationship. After two years, the relationship was at stake due to the problems of being at a distance. At that time, the German student was granted a scholarship in Madrid, where they shared an apartment and got together again. After

six months, both the scholarship and the psychologist's work contract ended. Together they decided to relocate to Berlin since he needed to finish his studies there and she was not bound to Madrid anymore: "And we were together those six months in Madrid and then it was very clear that if we wanted this to work, now it was my turn to move to Germany. So I came here" (female, 29, Berlin, degree in psychology, working as a kindergarten teacher).

Like the career-seekers, romantics have a long-term planning-horizon, with their migration being interpreted as a sign of serious commitment. Their need for coordination might lead to compromises in other areas. For example, the aforementioned psychologist cannot work in her profession in Germany since she faces the same obstacles as the career-seeking migrants in her field (namely, language skills and recognition of certificates). Compromising in these areas is acceptable for her because she wants to start a family with her partner in the near future.

Because the direction of the migration is set by the partner who is more bound to a place, in many cases the economic crisis altered the direction of the migration away from Spain, as graduates left university and binding commitments, such as work contracts, were either unavailable altogether or short-term. Additionally, the economic disparity between the former and current places of residence hinders the couples from moving back to Spain, even if they wanted to. In the case of the aforementioned PhD student in London, she and her now-husband would prefer for their future children to grow up in Barcelona, mainly because of the support of her family and the public education and health system in Spain. Yet, they refrain from moving back because they would have to face serious cutbacks in terms of salary, career-development and job satisfaction. This case highlights that the secondary motive of career-seeking was often mentioned. In this case, the goal of starting a family prevents migrants from making financially-risky choices and biases them towards job stability, again indicating a long planning horizon.

Especially in the case of an aspired family formation, the motive of relationship migration is therefore deeply intertwined with economic motives, with other aspects, such as family support or quality of the educational system, being taken into account as well.

Culturally-driven nomads

Another important motive for coming to Berlin or London is the cultural experience of living in a foreign and interesting environment. Central concepts for the migrants of this type – who we call culturally-driven nomads – are input, experience and culture. It can be assumed that Berlin and London are among the most popular destinations for this type of migrant. The majority of them in our sample were graduates from fine arts and humanities.

In contrast to the motives discussed above, this motive leads to a short-term planning horizon since it is accomplished by the very act of migrating and focuses on the ‘here and now.’ It should not be confused, however, with travelling; these migrants relocate their entire centre of life in order to achieve the desired effect of immersion in a foreign place. This includes finding a flat and temporary work in bars or shops in order to finance their living expenses. It also includes taking intensive language courses, but, in contrast to the career-seekers and the romantics, the nomads learn languages out of an intrinsic motivation in order to be able to immerse into the place around them and thereby intensify their experience. They interpret their mission as the acquisition of valuable skills for their personal development:

For some people, they really want to reach a professional state. [...] And for me this is not the point of my life. [...] I’m not focussed in my professional direction, but more in my style of life or something like this. (female, 22, Berlin, graduated in fine arts, working as bartender)

Often, they have previous experiences of migration, learning another language and getting to know foreign cultures. This is accompanied by an interest in taking part in the cosmopolitan

lifestyle and transnational milieu of Berlin or London. In a few cases, this was even rendered as a sexually-driven endeavour. One of our interview partners expressed her fondness of boys of northern European phenotype:

Well, when I was 13 or 14 years old, I said, I would marry the English Minister for Environment (...) and I was fascinated by all the foreigners, I was in love with Aaron Carter from the Back Street Boys, I liked the blonde boys with their blue eyes. (female, 22, London, graduate in French and English, working as a bartender and kitchen helper)

During her studies, she had stayed in France as an exchange student, and she considers going to France again if she is not happy in the UK anymore. So, the short-term planning horizon of culturally-driven nomads refers also to the duration of their stay. That does not necessarily mean that they are constant movers. However, when asked how long they will probably stay, the answers were very similar: as long as they liked, indicating a lack of long-term planning. Before they start to feel too settled and bored with the city, they leave for the next interesting place, be it in Europe or Nepal.

The relation of this type of migrant to the economic crisis remains less clear than with the others. On the one hand, some mentioned having left Spain because of not seeing chances of finding a job, not wanting to live with their parents or finding the situation in Spain in general depressing. On the other hand, their intrinsic thirst for experience could have motivated them to leave their country anyway. In this case, the culturally-driven nomad could be interpreted as a new form of low-key lifestyle migration (O'Reilly, 2014).

Survivors

This type of migrant lacks a clear motive for coming to Berlin or London, besides not wanting to live in Spain. Therefore, this is the only type of migrant who is characterized by the motives for leaving rather than a motive for coming. Migrants of this type spend a lot of their energy trying

to avoid ‘drowning’ (losing their economic independence), but a lack of reachable goals prevents them from ‘swimming towards the shore’. Hence, we suggest naming this type the survivor.

The survivors are migrants in a state of personal crisis. They left Spain because, as they describe it, their situation there was hopeless and characterized by personal distress. The migrants in our sample who fit into this type graduated in fields that either do not offer a clear career path outside academia (German philology), or with a very small and ever-shrinking labour market (journalism). Their choice of destination was not chosen with regard to a future-related goal but instead due to opportunities, such as being offered an accommodation in Berlin or London, or having basic language skills.

Rather than moving to Berlin, what I did was rather leaving Spain. That’s different. [...] It’s not that I wanted to go to Berlin no matter what. It was different. I wanted to leave Barcelona because I didn’t feel well, and I wanted to go to another place. (male, 26, Berlin, German and French philology, working in a call centre)

One of the problems resulting for this type of migrant is a lack of biographical orientation. This leads to a very short-term planning horizon. Survivors have two main problems to solve: First, they have to find work in order to cover their living expenses. If they do not succeed in doing so, the survivors in our sample would have to move back to Spain into their parents’ home. As qualified employment appears to be out of reach for them, they are very vulnerable to marginal employment and exploitative employment relations. This being said, the high unemployment rates in Spain seem to facilitate exploitation to an even bigger extent than the labour market situation in Berlin and London. One of our interview partners told us that she worked in Madrid for different magazines as a journalist, wrote articles and took photos using the equipment she bought herself, but she was sometimes only paid 20 € a month. Although she was confronted with an exploitative work situation again in London, working double shifts regularly and

working for 6 or 12 days in a row before having a day off, she stated that she is still better off in London than she would be in Madrid.

Second, apart from their difficulties in financing their living expenses, they have to figure out what they want to do with their lives in the future. This might seem like a fairly common problem among young adults in their late twenties, but in this case, there is no real future goal, no in-order-to motive that gives meaning to their arduous everyday experience.

Discussion and Conclusion

Overall, we find that the economic crisis plays a major role in both the majority of the reasons for leaving Spain as well as in most of the migration projects following the relocation. We argue that the economic crisis changes the motives of migration in a more complex fashion than just increasing the sheer number of economic migrants. The two types of migrants that we found who cannot be considered mere economic migrants were also affected by the economic crisis:

Romantics often make the choice to move to their partner in Berlin and London because the crisis de-linked them spatially from Spain with regards to employment. In the case of the culturally-driven nomads, most left Spain due to reasons that are directly linked to the economic crisis, either to avoid having to move back in with their parents or because of the depressive mood of their social environment. Still, their migration was not primarily motivated by seeking better employment, which is reflected in their choice of destination and their future plans. On the other hand, the career-seekers and survivors are more obviously linked to the classical notion of economic migration. Still, our findings show the diversity in their strategies and situations, ranging from young adults seeking international working experience, to job-seekers desperately

acquiring country-specific language skills and certificates, to disorientated young adults, who need a job in order to stay out of Spain and hence independent from their parents.

In the light of literature about post-recession intra-European migration motives, our analysis is quite in line with Bartolini's, Gropas' and Triandafyllidou's findings (2016) regarding the importance of the economic crisis. However, our analysis indicates that among those citing economic reasons for migration, some might actually be romantics favouring the economically more prosperous country, or culturally-driven nomads, avoiding dependency on their parents back home. This could explain at least partially, why in recent quantitative studies, social motives, such as love or family, seem to have lost prevalence.

In comparison to Bygnes' analysis of Spaniards in Norway (2015), our cases from Berlin and London showed another picture, in that the vast majority of migrants were influenced directly by the crisis and were not shy of admitting it. We explain this difference with the more vulnerable life situations of our interviewees. Those cases in our sample, however, who claimed to have left Spain out of reasons unrelated to the crisis and opted for a career abroad, distanced themselves from other Spanish migrants who were in their eyes rather unprepared and naïve. This could be interpreted similarly to the boundary-making processes by the Spanish migrants in Norway Bygnes describes. However, few of our migrants mentioned the symptoms Bygnes related to the Durkheimian concept of anomie as their motive for leaving Spain, with none of them citing them as motives for their migration.

In line with the body of literature, our analysis supports that the underlying motive of many migrants is gaining biographical agency. This is clearly reflected in the motives for leaving, which highlight the entanglement of the Southern European welfare regime, the young adults'

dependency on their parents, and their status passage into adulthood, as Conti already pointed out for the Italian case (2011). But even more so, it is reflected in the motives for coming to Berlin or London, with most of our cases relocating in order to advance their careers, to live with their partners, or to enjoy the experience of European mobility.

From a methodological point of view, our analysis showed the usefulness of the Schützean concept of motive in that it helped us to uncover the imprint of the economic crisis on different types of migration that were previously considered non-economic. It also allowed us to analyse the inherent logic of the different strategies and orientations after the migrants' relocation. This highlights the shortcomings of a reductionist-additive approach towards motives, as is found in many studies. We therefore advocate the usage of theory-driven qualitative studies to inform further in-depth quantitative research.

Issues that deserve more attention in this context are migrants changing their migration projects after relocation and migrants returning to Spain. Do project-driven migrants become survivors when their initial motives prove to be unobtainable? Or do they rather return to their country of origin? As there are still few studies available about the new intra-European South-North migration pattern, we suggest further qualitative and quantitative analyses of the migrants' trajectories in order to further investigate its magnitude, stability and transnational characteristics.

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Institute for the
Study of
Societal Issues

2420 Bowditch St. # 5670
Berkeley , CA 94720-5670

tel: 510-642-0813

fax: 510-642-8674

email: issi@berkeley.edu

web: <http://issi.berkeley.edu>